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ABSTRACT

This publication contains the bibliography and appendixes which accompany a study of the role of the Work Incentive Program, particularly its training activities, in adult resocialization (available as VT 020 335 in this issue). Entries in the bibliography are arranged alphabetically by author under these categories: (1) Manpower-Labor Market, (2) Family Economy, Income, and Budgets, (3) Public Welfare Recipients and Programs, (4) Sociological Theory, (5) Family Structure, (6) Economic Deprivation and Poverty Life Styles, and (7) Methodology. The appended materials consist of: (1) an additional discussion of the research design, (2) the items which appeared in the research questionnaires along with the percentage distribution of responses, (3) a paper discussing the importance of religion to the welfare and working mothers in the study, and (4) a paper discussing the personality of the welfare and working mothers. (SB)

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THE WORK INCENTIVE PROGRAM:

MAKING ADULTS ECONOMICALLY INDEPENDENT

Volume II
Bibliography and Appendices

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Manpower-Labor Market

Sources listed deal with variations in employment and unemployment by race, sex, age, previous occupational training and education. Analyses and descriptions of manpower development and occupational training programs are included.

Family Economy, Income and Budgets

Family economy is examined as an independent variable with respect to family stability, employment and delinquency. Patterns of income and expenditure are analyzed as dependent upon cultural and social-structural factors.

Public Welfare Recipients and Programs

Demographic and descriptive studies of welfare recipients, applicants and ineligibles as well as analyses of welfare programs and their impact are examined.

Sociological Theory

Theoretical frameworks relevant to poverty, family ideology and work and adult resocialization are cited.

Family Structure

Matrifocality, family stability, authority and paternal roles are included in the analyses of family functions and structure.

Economic Deprivation and Poverty Life Styles

The concepts of a "culture of poverty," psychological, cultural and social characteristics of the economically deprived, perpetuation of the "poverty cycle" and racial factors in poverty are related in qualitative as well as survey studies which attempt to explain the roots of poverty.

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*Special bibliographies appended to individual chapters.

Methodology

Problems of survey analysis and conceptualization as they specifically relate to poverty studies are reported.

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APPENDIX A

RESEARCH PROCEDURES

Based on Working Papers of Richard A. Conrad, Randall C. Kritkausky,
Ilsa G. Schuster and David P. Varady

This appendix provides additional discussion of the research design. Examples of materials developed to guide the conduct of the study will highlight some strategic issues in data gathering and interviewing in a poverty population, as well as problems arising in cross-cultural communication. Details on the sampling, questionnaire construction and tests of reliability will supplement the schematic discussion of method in the first chapter.

Problems of Sampling

A Background Note

The research proposal aimed to assess the impact of WIN training on the work goals and work behavior of recipients of AFDC. By random selection, a sample of welfare recipients was to be assigned to one of two groups: one to be exposed to WIN training and the other to remain a control group. The impact of the WIN program would be assessed by comparing information obtained from the two groups first prior to the exposure of the experimental group to WIN training and then again one year later.

Although both fathers and mothers are eligible for AFDC, this study included only females. The number of male trainees was small, and furthermore, WIN participation was mandatory for most AFDC men, thus eliminating the possibility of a control group. In addition, adequate samples of both sexes would have added measurably to the data gathering costs.

Application to conduct this research was originally made directly to the U. S. Department of Labor. After the contract had been granted, the contractor applied to Commonwealth of Pennsylvania authorities for access to the Philadelphia Welfare and WIN records. Permission was slow in coming; Commonwealth officials were not satisfied that either federal officials or the contractor had involved them sufficiently in initial plans. Because the delay was causing excessive overhead expenditures and since initial contacts with officials in the N. J. Department of Labor and Industry had indicated that cooperation would be forthcoming, the contractor applied to the State of New Jersey and to Camden County for permission to study their WIN program.

The feasibility of Camden as a site was established by ascertaining the number of WIN eligibles in the area, the presence of an operating WIN program and the convenience of the new site just across the river from the research center located in Philadelphia.

The New Jersey Department of Labor and Industry required a modification in study design. Despite the fact that WIN could not handle all those eligible for training, some officials viewed random assignment of the women to the non-trainee control group as an arbitrary restriction of the opportunity for those women to participate in WIN. New Jersey officials noted, moreover, that even if we were given control of assigning WIN eligibles to trainee groups, the administrative procedures were so slow that there could be no guarantee that our choices would be properly channeled in time to allow participation within our study design. Thus, to guarantee a data case for analysis, we sampled randomly among eligibles with the hope that a sufficiently large number would be selected and trained by the program in the course of a year's operation. It appeared likely from size limitations of trainee groups that not all the eligibles we sampled would be chosen to participate, and thereby, that we would have something approaching experimental and control groups. Because of the WIN selection process, we knew these groups would not be matched in all respects. The departure from matching could be exploited to study the selection process itself.

Sample Selection--Welfare Mothers

The initial sample of welfare mothers was drawn from a computer print-out list of all 4,645 AFDC recipients in Camden County as of July 31, 1969. The proposal had called for drawing a basic sample of 600 welfare mothers on the assumption that, with an 80 percent response rate, we would complete 480 interviews. A stratified random sample was selected by choosing every fortieth case from that list (only females were chosen) and continuing to circle through the list until 750 names had been selected. These 750 cases were then screened for WIN eligibility, using the eligibility criteria actually applied in Camden. Adding our own sample restrictions, we obtained a stratified sample of women who were between 18 and 45 years of age, who were single or not living with their husbands, who had five or fewer dependent children (according to welfare records) and who were not barred from work for reasons of physical or mental health.

Of the 750 cases originally selected, 288 were rejected from the sample because of failure to meet WIN criteria. An additional 69 were excluded when their case records could not be found (1). Thus a total of 357 were excluded; Table A-1 presents the proportion rejected for each reason.

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[1] Of the 69 case records originally not located, 41 were eventually found. They proved similar to the 447 first wave interviewees on two important characteristics: age and number of children. The average age of women in the lost cases was 31.4 years, and they had an average of 3.4 dependent children. The interviewees were an average of 29.6 years of age and had an average of 3.3 dependent children.

TABLE A-1

REASONS FOR REJECTION OF CASES FROM THE AFDC SAMPLE SPACE

REASON FOR REJECTION	PERCENT OF CASES
Age (under 18/over 45)	29
Sex (males)	14
More than 5 pre-school children	11
Health unsatisfactory	17
Not currently receiving AFDC	4
Unavailable case record	19
Other (in training, out of town, previously rejected for WIN)	6
	(357)

To increase the number of WIN eligibles available for interviewing, seventy Camden County caseworkers were asked to provide the names of ten women from their case load rosters whom they believed eligible for WIN assignment. Fifty-two workers responded to the request providing a total of 296 names. At this point, the sample consisted of 393 WIN eligible cases from the stratified sample (750 minus 357 rejected cases), plus the 296 WIN eligibles referred by caseworkers for a total of 689. As the first wave of interviewing proceeded before WIN training, it became apparent that the trainee group would be quite small. The program in operation was processing fewer women than had been anticipated; trainees once assigned tended to remain in training slots for some length of time. To remedy the impact of this on our planned schedule, WIN officials furnished a list of 27 women who had already been referred to WIN at the outset of the study but who had participated for less than one month. We also obtained a list of 94 women who had volunteered for WIN and were awaiting WIN assignment. These two groups were added to the sample. The sources of the final list of potential interviewees are given in Table A-2. Our efforts thus resulted in a list of 810 potential interviewees. The randomness of the sample was compromised. When participants in the WIN program are compared with the remainder of the welfare population, this limitation should be kept in mind. The problem of sample characteristics will be discussed later in a comparison of the final study population with the entire Camden County welfare population.

TABLE A-2

SOURCES OF WELFARE MOTHER INTERVIEWS

SOURCES	NUMBERS	PERCENT
Random Sample (AFDC WIN-eligible)	393	48
Caseworker Referrals	296	37
Welfare Officials' Referrals:		
AFDC in WIN less than one month	27	3
AFDC WIN volunteers awaiting assignment	94	12

Sample Selection--Working Mothers

The directors of the study and consultants at the U. S. Department of Labor saw the need for a comparison sample of working mothers who were heads of households. A list of working mothers was compiled from the records of four local agencies and organizations. These included the Camden County Welfare Board's records of cases terminated due to increased earnings, and a list of successful 'graduates', self-supporting female heads of households, from an organization in Camden providing job training and orientation (OIC). Local corporations employing low income unskilled and semi-skilled females provided access to their employee records, and the Public Housing Authority provided a list of low income employed mothers resident in public housing projects. Altogether, 268 names were assembled. From this list, 102 were eventually interviewed. Table A-3 summarizes the sources of this sample.

TABLE A-3

SOURCES OF WORKING MOTHER INTERVIEWS

SOURCE	NUMBER	PERCENT
OIC	37	14
Public Housing Authority	153	57
Welfare Records	44	16
Private Corporations	34	13
	(268)	

Because the sample of working mothers was not randomly selected, it cannot be assumed to represent the population of low-income working mothers in Camden. The sample characteristics, however, were very similar to those of the welfare mothers; income and racial distributions for the two samples were nearly matched.

Sample Validity

Geographic Distribution of Respondents. The greater majority of AFDC recipients in Camden County live within the Camden city limits; the sample coincides with this distribution (see Table A-4). The geographic distribution of the sample of working mothers, furthermore, is similar to that of the welfare mothers (see Table A-4).

Type of Housing. Differences beyond those related to the work role are important in the comparison of working and welfare groups. Type of residence in this study represents the second largest difference between the two groups (with work status the largest). The economic and cultural impacts of type of housing may be a significant set of considerations.

TABLE A-4

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF WELFARE AND WORKING MOTHER RESPONDENTS IN FIRST AND SECOND WAVE INTERVIEWS
(in percents)

LOCATION	WELFARE		WORKING	
	WAVE I	WAVE II	WAVE I	WAVE II
City of Camden	86.1	90.0	81.7	80.0
Suburbs*	13.9	10.0	18.3	20.0
	(447)	(380)	(102)	(85)

*This category includes all those subjects residing outside the city limits of Camden. Placement in either category depended on actual location of the subject residence, not simply her address. Some addresses were for suburbs but were actually within Camden city limits.

Respondents occupied both public and private housing. Of the welfare sample, 17 percent (447) were living in housing operated by the Camden Public Housing Authority at the time of the first interview in the summer of 1969. Of the working sample, 75 percent (102) were living in public housing; this larger proportion resulted from the selection of working mothers from Public Housing Authority residence lists. For this reason, our data on type of housing was not as complete for the welfare sample as it was for the working sample. We believe that the public housing estimate indicated for the welfare sample is somewhat low.

Under-representation and Exclusion of Subjects from the Sample. Residents in outlying 'suburban' areas were difficult to contact. This group, therefore, tended to be under-represented in both the welfare and working samples. Thus, while the welfare sample had an average age of 29.6 years and an average of 3.3 dependent children, those suburban welfare mothers who were not reached had an average of 32 years and an average of 2.8 dependent children, according to information obtained from welfare records. Also under-represented were women who were difficult to locate because of address changes or lack of availability for interviewing. Some women proved impossible to contact even when attempts were made at different times of the day and on weekends. In practice, a number of women were located and interviewed after six or more attempts. We found it necessary, however, to limit our search to four callbacks in view of time and budget considerations.

Panel Maintenance. The high mobility of low income populations makes panel analysis difficult; maintenance of a sample over a year or more becomes problematic. Table A-5 summarizes the results of our efforts to maintain such a panel.

TABLE A-5

PANEL MAINTENANCE
(number of cases)

SAMPLE	WAVE I	WAVE II
Welfare	447	373
Working	102	85

Construction and Testing of the Questionnaire

The WIN questionnaire was designed to explore the interrelations between job training, life style, and employment status. This section summarizes the construction of the study instrument and discusses the use of survey methods using a relatively structured questionnaire.

Pilot Interviews and Pretests

Senior research staff and the project Directors conducted in-depth interviews with WIN-eligible AFDC recipients at the onset of the study. The results of these initial interviews enabled the construction of a loose schedule of questions for face-to-face interviewing. The exploratory interviews also pointed up basic issues in family life and work situations that we had not perceived, or had not perceived in culturally appropriate terms, but that the welfare mothers thought important. A preliminary interview schedule was constructed on the basis of these in-depth interviews, along with examination of instruments used in other similar studies (2). The instrument was tested with the assistance of several welfare recipients from Philadelphia.

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[2] Social research literature discusses special problems encountered in interviewing low-income respondents with instruments oriented to middle class culture (Weiss, 1966).

It was anticipated that the low educational level of many welfare recipients would preclude the use of self-administered questionnaires. An expected discovery was that roughly half the women had sufficient educational background to complete the questionnaire with little or no assistance from staff members. A second preliminary version of the research instrument was therefore developed as a self-administered questionnaire with most of the items 'closed-ended'. Final adjustments for this questionnaire were made on the basis of a sample of fifty welfare recipients. Some of these women had been referred to the study by the Children's Hospital of Philadelphia and others were contacted by staff members who visited a public housing project in West Philadelphia. The interview began with the digit symbol test (I-5) excerpted from the Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale; the interviewer used the score on this test to decide whether the respondent was able to complete the questionnaire unaided. Four versions of the questionnaire were constructed: Welfare Sample, Wave I and Wave II, and Working sample, Wave I and Wave II. (The questions in each of these are combined in Appendix B of this report along with notations on coding instructions and the unpartitioned marginal frequencies of responses).

Questionnaire Items

Following the digit-symbol test, the respondent was asked to draw a person (I-7 through 21) and to write a story about this person (I-21 through 29). Respondents were then asked to write stories about three drawings of women in work-related roles: an individual waiting to be hired for a job (I-30 through 39), a person working (I-38 through 45), and a woman and a child (I-46 through 53). These projective items were used to assess personality characteristics and attitudes towards work situations. The racial identity of the individuals in the pictures was made ambiguous; it was hoped that respondents would respond not to the racial characteristics of the people in the pictures but rather to the substantive content.

Social researchers have noted that questions relative to self-report items produce responses "largely independent of the subject's self-insight and his willingness to reveal himself" (Selltiz; Jahoda; Deutsch; and Cook, 1959, pp. 280-281). On the other hand, questions of validity arise more often with protective measures than self-report items because of the seemingly "large gap in the case of projective measures between the subject's response and the characteristic it is presumed to indicate" (Ibid., p. 281). Projective formats (TAT-type) had, however, been previously used with some success in measuring employment-related attitudes (McClelland; Atkinson; Clark; and Lowell, 1953). For the present study, special drawings were used instead of standard TAT pictures; thus the validity of this test is more problematic.

Projectives have been designed primarily for clinical use; they were used in our study as part of a survey questionnaire. Moreover, they were coded by individuals who were not qualified clinicians. An objective coding scheme was developed for this purpose: the coder had merely to indicate the presence or absence of a mouth or teeth in the drawing, for example. For the picture stories, the initial coding was done by a clinician who developed examples of stories, or parts of stories, to be placed in each category. Interpretations of underlying personality characteristics, such as level of intelligence or achievement motivations, were made only at this level of data analysis. (The coding schemes for all the projective items

are included in Appendix B).

Attempts were made to use the Bender visual motor-Gestalt test, which gives a measure of gross normality/abnormality and general work competence. Initial results were ambiguous, and this test was abandoned under pressure to shorten an already too long questionnaire.

The second set of questions was related to employment attitudes. Some items were selected from Bernard Indik's "Motivation to Work" scale to determine the extent to which employment and welfare status are a function of six dimensions, each of which is measured by a group of items in the questionnaire: motive to work (III-13), motive to avoid work (III-22), expectancy to work (III-25), expectancy to avoid work (III-27), incentive to work (III-30), and incentive to avoid work (III-33).

Since employment is a function of motivation to work and market fluctuations, measures of occupational interests were included. These questions were based on the Occupational Interest Inventory developed by Edwin Lee and Louis Thorpe (1956). The test consists of a series of matched comparisons yielding three groups of scores: fields of interest, types of interests, and level of interest. Also elicited were specific job aspirations, such as nurse's aide or secretary in a small office. The responses here would be related to the matrix of attitudes toward wages, prestige, and availability of employment.

In deciding whether to work, an individual may consider the income available from welfare or other sources against her expenditure needs. A detailed inventory of sources of income was included in the questionnaire (II, VI-5 through 29). The researchers also recognized that income sources are indicators of certain social relationships and considered this in analyzing the data.

Allocation of expenditures is an indicator of life style. Relative emphasis on home-related expenses reflects the centrality of family life for the 'spending unit'. Hypotheses relating life style (as reflected in expenditures) to work decisions are more valuable when detailed breakdowns of areas of spending are available (II, VI-32 through 67). This part of the questionnaire required close monitoring and interviewer skill, especially since expenditures of only a few dollars, particularly on the tight budgets of a low income population, may be significant indicators of personal or cultural variations.

Since past behavior often predicts to future behavior, past employment experience should then influence the likelihood of future employment. We inquired into previous job experience and satisfaction, taking many of these questions from The Job Hunt (Sheppard and Belitsky, 1966). These questions probed: whether or not the respondent had worked (III-61), the type of previous job experience (III-65,66,68), previous earnings (III-72), reasons for leaving past jobs (IV-73,74,75), reasons for not accepting employment that may have been proffered in the past (III-55,57,58,59), how the respondent had learned about jobs in the past (III-63), and with whom the respondent had consulted in reaching a past decision to work (III-64). The Dictionary of Occupational Titles was used to classify the types of jobs

previously held.

Length of residence in the area (IV-12) was included as a correlate of integration into the local labor market and thus of opportunity for employment. This variable is also a measure of family and labor mobility, and reflects exposure to social and cultural influences in the area.

Position in the local social structure was measured in terms of membership in parent teacher associations, welfare rights organizations, and family and friendship networks (IV-16, 17, 20) (1). The networks were labeled by whether their members participated in the world of welfare or of work (IV-18, 19, 21); further questions probed the extent to which these friendship and kinship relations were significant reference groups. Voting (IV-38), participation in neighborhood associations (IV-36), organizations of people on welfare (IV-37), and parent-teacher associations (IV-35) can also be viewed as indicators of non-occupational activity. These indicators of commitment to non-work social roles were expected to correlate negatively with commitment to work roles. For example, mothers who organized their lives around the home would not be as likely to seek employment removing them from the family setting.

Another series of questions probed the nature of household participation, since characteristics of the family unit which impose competing role obligations are likely to hinder the employability of women. Data collected on the household concerned the stage in the family life cycle (I-63), as indicated by the number of children in different age groups, and the extent of dependence as reflected by the total number of children (I-65) or others (IV-5) requiring care. Child care resources available were assessed in terms of the type of family constellation (whether or not members of the extended family participated in the unit) (IV-7, 20), current knowledge of day care facilities (IV-8, 9), and attitudes toward day care facilities (IV-11).

Studies have shown that welfare dependency persists intergenerationally in families (Greenleigh Associates, 1964). We followed this hypothesis by asking who had generally provided support for the respondent's family during childhood (IV-26) and the proportion of time during the respondent's childhood that her mother had been on welfare (IV-27). We also asked respondents to indicate the amount of time they had been on welfare themselves (IV-22). Finally, a question on whether the respondents had children over 18 not living at home who were collecting welfare (IV-24) completed information on the welfare status of three successive generations.

Development of the Questionnaire

Polishing and adjustment of items must be accomplished in the course of a project. Most adjustments in the WIN questionnaire (eliminations, addition of items and changes in working) were accomplished on the basis of pre-test experience. This section will review the development and revision of questionnaire items as well as the structure of the instrument as a whole.

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[1] The items measuring social participation are based on the Community Adaptation Schedule developed by Sheldon R. Roen and Alan J. Burnes (1965). This schedule contains measures of the extent of community involvement, friendship involvement, religious participation (IV-30) and organizational membership.

The items on a questionnaire are 'stimuli' designed to elicit responses. These responses constitute the researcher's observations of the population. They are observable indicators that the researcher then uses to test his hypotheses. There must be some assurance of the validity of the researcher's inference from indicator to concept. To some extent, the researcher relies on his own past experience and that accumulated by other researchers; in addition, he must handle a growing number of statistical procedures with which to measure the probability of response distributions.

Wave I: Welfare Mothers

In a closed questionnaire, the alternative responses to a question must be exhaustive, mutually exclusive, and capable of producing a reasonable distribution of responses. Examination of unpartitioned marginals helps to locate categories in which too many responses fall within a single choice; this indicates the necessity for a finer distinction within the categories. For instance, the question on sources of income produced frequent responses in the 'other income' category. "Child support from father" occurred frequently enough to justify its inclusion as a separate response. This was not discovered during the pilot study, but only after examination of returns from Wave I. The Occupational Interest Inventory was dropped after the pilot study, however. Responses appeared rather random and it was learned that the choices offered did not seem meaningful to female respondents. In its place, respondents were asked about the type of job they would like to do if they could get the necessary training. Questions whose meanings were not easily understood by the respondents were reworded on the basis of interviewer comments.

Scales consisting of three to eight items were constructed for measuring attitudes. The scaleogram analysis technique determined whether the responses to these items satisfied the requirements of a Guttman unidimensional scale. The result of such a technique is that only consistent items are included and 'errors' reduced to a minimum. A set of items is considered scaleable if 90 percent of the responses fall into the predicted pattern; a coefficient of reproducibility of .90 is generally the minimum acceptable.

Guttman scales were developed to measure success striving (coefficient of reproducibility (r) = .93), the worth of planning for the future (r=.90), racial discrimination in hiring (r=.91), attitudes toward job training (r=.93), attitudes toward day care centers (r=.93) and perceptions of how children feel about their mother working (r=.87). After the pilot tests, items were adjusted by dropping questions which produced too many response 'errors' and by collapsing choice categories. All of the scales except those measuring attitudes toward job training and employment of mothers achieved a level of r=.93 or greater. The scale measuring a mother's attitude toward employment of mothers in general was dropped since other measures of maternal vs. occupational role attitudes existed. The scale measuring a mother's perception of her children's attitudes toward her employment was retained as a non-scale index, since no other variable in the study measured this attitude; so, too, was the scale measuring attitudes toward job training although it did not meet the reproducibility standard.

The preliminary version of the questionnaire for the first wave of welfare mothers tried to assess willingness to work by asking for current employment status. An additional question asked the respondent whether or not she expected to be working six months later. This probe was useful in determining whether current employment status was due to an accidental circumstance and thereby not likely to be an indicator of willingness to work.

Questions about the economic element in the decision between work and welfare were included: "What net earnings would be required from employment for you to leave the welfare rolls?" (I-70); "If you went to work, would you receive more or less than you had received on welfare?" (II-68); "Is it worth it for you to work, all factors taken into account?" (III-43). At the same time, more specific probes of attitudes toward welfare, attitudes toward the availability of welfare (IV-64), and attitudes toward those who abuse welfare by making misleading claims (IV-71) were included, as were additional items on the relationship between different aspects of home life, employment, and welfare. Measures were developed for the perceived impact of money on family strength (III-46), beliefs about the impact of the mother's employment or welfare status on her children (III-49), and perceptions of how children feel about their mother working (IV-56). All of these attitudes were hypothesized to mediate the relationship between maternal role and actual employment.

To explore another aspect of the decision between home and work, several questions from the Community Adaptation Schedule dealing with attitudes toward housework were added. These would measure the respondent's satisfaction with housework, assessment of her own competency as a housekeeper and the participation of other family members in household chores (IV-44 through 50). Finally, a question measuring the importance placed on raising one's own children (IV-51) was added since this attitude would tend to affect a mother's willingness to take advantage of available child care facilities.

Wave I: Working Mothers

The first wave sample of working mothers was intended as a control group for the welfare panel. A shortened form of the basic questionnaire was used, and there were no questions which had not appeared in the welfare sample questionnaire. Questions dealing with reasons for leaving the previous job, reasons for not accepting work in the past and reasons for dissatisfaction with past jobs were dropped from the working mothers' questionnaire; few in the welfare sample had worked recently and meaningful comparisons would not have been possible. Since many welfare respondents had found it difficult to answer the question on the amount of earnings required for a decision to leave the welfare rolls, this question was dropped for the working sample. Interviewers had noted that welfare respondents had difficulty in distinguishing among response categories which read "almost always true", "more often true than false", "more often false than true", and "almost always false;" these categories were collapsed into "usually true" and "usually false" for the working sample. This last change made welfare and working sample responses incomparable on those items (III-16 through 27; IV-42, 52 through 56).

Wave II: Welfare Mothers

The data depicted by benchmark measures gave comparisons for the two groups at one point in time. For each group, welfare and working mothers, a second set of questionnaires measured changes over time. The welfare sample was initially interviewed in the summer of 1969 (wave I) and reinterviewed in the summer of 1970 (wave II).

In the revision of the welfare questionnaire for use in the second wave, deletions were made where no change in response was expected (those questions measuring race, religion, and family background). To shorten the administrative time, and also to decrease the refusal rate, three of the TAT-like picture stories were dropped. Finally, most of the Indik "Motivation to Work" items were deleted because the professional staff member concerned with this aspect of the study had resigned. Additions to the questionnaire measured participation in the labor force in the previous year (e.g., whether or not the respondent had worked (IX-5), age when the first child was born (V-71) and age when the respondent first married (VI-73).

The largest number of new questions focused on evaluation of the WIN program and other government-financed job training programs. Questions regarding satisfaction with different aspects of WIN (IX-20 through 28) were based on a questionnaire entitled "Decision Making in the WIN program" (U.S. Department of Labor, Manpower Administration, 1969, p. 90). Questions regarding the respondents' participation in WIN were developed from other studies (e.g., Somers, 1968). The later set of questions, moreover, was grouped into four categories:

1. Questions concerning the respondent's status in WIN
   - -never contacted, never started, participated, completed the program (IX-12)
   - -how the respondent heard of the program (IX-11)
   - -reasons for non-participation (IX-13)
   - -component of the WIN program the respondent entered (IX-15, 16, 17)

2. Questions probing the respondent's apprehensions about participating in WIN
   - -extent of appraisal of welfare board's power to make women participate (IX-15)
   - -perception of family's reaction to the employment plan developed in the orientation phase of the WIN program (IX-16)
   - -evaluation of availability of jobs in the Camden area requiring skills of WIN trainees (IX-20)
   - -respondent's reactions to fellow students (IX-21) and to counselors and teachers (IX-22).

3. Questions about the respondent's evaluation of the WIN program
   - -extent of satisfaction with the type of training available (IX-23)
   - -measure of additional knowledge about the world of work (IX-24)
   - -evaluation of child care facilities (IX-25)
   - -amount of additional education obtained (IX-26)
   - -satisfaction with size of training allowance (IX-27)

4. Questions on the respondent's overall satisfaction with the WIN program
   - -closed-ended question asking whether or not the respondent would encourage a friend to participate in the WIN program (IX-28)
   - -open-ended question asking the respondent if she would encourage or discourage a friend from participating in the program (IX-29)
   - -open-ended question allowing the respondent to specify the characteristics of the program she was most or least satisfied with.

Wave II: Working Mothers

Scheduling problems prevented the interviewing of the Wave I working sample until March, 1970. Since this group was re-interviewed in the summer of 1970, many time-dependent measures were not repeated. Questions on current employment and family budget reappeared on the second wave working mothers' questionnaire to measure seasonal differences. New questions explored the factors which had enabled these women to obtain employment (IX-30 through 33) and why they were not currently on welfare (IX-38). Throughout the analysis, the researchers were aware that the study took place during an economic recession.

A comparison of the first wave welfare and working mothers had indicated that the working mothers were somewhat older, suggesting that the welfare mothers should have been matched with younger working mothers. As an indirect approach to this problem of comparability, working mothers were asked about their employment status five years previously (IX-30) and the child care arrangements they used when their oldest child was three years old (III-31).

Analysis of the first wave marginal distributions showed that a larger proportion of working mothers than of welfare mothers were residentially stable. To measure their chances of moving, respondents were asked how long they expected to remain at their current address (IX-34). To explain differences in this expectation, respondents were asked to name the most unsatisfactory characteristics of their home and neighborhood (IX-35, 36). Wave I data also showed that a smaller proportion of working mothers had friends in their neighborhoods; second wave respondents were asked about friends at work (IX-37) to determine whether this difference might be explained by a geographic dispersal of work companions.

The second wave of working mothers were asked about the relationship of the absent father to the family unit. To explore the reason for the separation, the respondent was asked the occupation of the husband (or the father of the oldest child) and her evaluation of his treatment of the child. To determine the likelihood of remarriage, she was asked what characteristics she looked for in a future husband. These exploratory questions were open-ended.

For an assessment of the transportation barrier to employment, the first wave interviews of working mothers had been asked the maximum time they would be willing to spend traveling to work (III-29). In the second wave, this question was probed further by asking whether the respondent owned or had access to a car (IX-33).

Finally, reasons why respondents had not received welfare in the past were examined (IX-38). Had they considered applying for welfare and decided not to? If so, why? Had they ever applied for welfare and been rejected? If so, what was the basis for rejection? Did the respondent think that a woman's working would be held against her if she ever did apply for welfare (IX-41)? What of the worthiness of those actually receiving welfare (IX-39)? Did the respondents agree that many receiving welfare should be supporting their children by working and that many people in greatest need of welfare were not receiving it (IX-40)?

Problems of Data Gathering

First Wave Interviews: Welfare Mothers

Little attention and less literature has been devoted to the pragmatics of research management. Yet the organization of field operations provides the social context in which the interviewer-interviewee relationship occurs, and has direct impact on the quality of the information which emerges from that encounter. Our experience will elucidate some special problems associated with field research amongst an American low income population.

The original intent in the summer of 1969 was to visit each respondent in her home for an individual verbal interview. During the pretest and pilot study, it became apparent that a good part of the population could complete a written questionnaire by themselves. Thus it was expected that administering the questionnaire to a group of subjects would be feasible and economical. A field strategy was evolved centering around a field headquarters in a Camden church.

The field headquarters staff consisted of interviewers and recruiters of potential respondents. The interviewing staff consisted of a number of black women, themselves eligible for WIN, who were referred to us by the Camden County Welfare office and trained by our staff. (The training manual is included at the end of this section.) We anticipated that indigenous interviewers would obtain more valid data since they would be better able to

establish rapport with interviewees than would white students or professional interviewers.

The second part of the field staff, the recruiters, were college students. Each student was given two lists of fifteen potential interviewees each day. Each potential interviewee had already received a letter of introduction (see the end of this section). The students were instructed to contact the sampled women and invite them to field headquarters to complete the questionnaire the following day or soon thereafter. These letters proved valuable in allaying suspicion. Indeed, introjecting the comment, "You probably received a letter from us in the last few days" often converted skeptical hostility to a somewhat warm and familiar, "Oh, yes, I've been expecting you". The recruiter left a slip of paper with the appointment time and a name or address to call for questions. A reminder to "bring your glasses" often saved much confusion and anguish at headquarters.

In order to facilitate recruiting, Camden was divided into sectors--each containing several square blocks. These were further divided into four quadrants of approximately equal size. Sectioned maps were used by the interviewing staff to locate the subjects and to organize pick-up and delivery of respondents where this seemed necessary. A large map marked by colored pins provided a visual display at headquarters of the distribution of subjects in the Camden area, enabling the field manager to revise contact routes and strategies constantly.

It was anticipated that provision of transportation to and from the interviewing site would minimize the inconvenience to respondents and so increase our success in obtaining interviews. Recruiters used private and rented automobiles to bring subjects to the headquarters at the specified time. While the interviewees completed the questionnaire, recruiters went back to the field to schedule appointments for the following day and then returned to the center in time to drive the interviewees home and begin calls for another set of interviews.

At headquarters, respondents were asked to "register". This allowed us to have a written record of the status of each member of the sample. After registering, groups of two to four women were assigned to an indigenous interviewer who introduced herself and instructed the women in procedures. She then remained available to aid in filling out the schedule. A simple intelligence test (Wechsler Digit Symbol Test) at the beginning of the interview enabled the interviewer to judge the extent of monitoring required. Those scoring below a certain level were offered more extensive help. In this manner, fifteen to twenty-five subjects were interviewed in the morning and a similar size group in the afternoon. Approximately two-thirds of the first wave of welfare mother interviews were completed in this manner.

The use of a central interviewing site for group administration improved efficiency. This procudure was satisfactory as long as the interviewees were clustered in a neighborhood and could be conveniently called for and brought to the center. However, as the study progressed, the most cooperative and easy to locate interviewees were already contacted. The remainder of the sample was dispersed over a wide geographic area or lived

in relatively unknown or inaccessible areas. In an attempt to overcome this problem of locating scattered interviewees, taxi drivers who knew the area were engaged to assist in recruiting. Drivers were given a list of names and asked to drive the women to the interviewing site. The success of this method depended on the willingness of drivers to encourage subjects to come to the field headquarters. Unfortunately, few drivers would exert this effort and this method was abandoned after a short trial.

Logistical problems also worked a hardship on interviewees. It was difficult to coordinate completion of questionnaires and departures of women who lived in the same area but worked at differing rates. Often, a group would wait for one woman who worked slowly on the questionnaire. Delays in returning home, coupled with the inconvenience of leaving home in the first place when there were children to be cared for, became intolerable. Further, we found that not only were we transporting mothers, but often their children as well. As some subjects brought their children into the field headquarters, they had to be cared for by our staff while the mother completed the questionnaire. This was a contingency for which we had not adequately prepared.

The use of indigenous interviewers had its own peculiar difficulties. Some women had little interest in the project beyond the fees they were offered for their time. They were apathetic and were reluctant to acknowledge that they didn't understand some aspect of our procedure. Further, they tended to identify with the subjects rather than with the professional staff. They resented delays in payment of their wages resulting from cumbersome procedures of a university comptroller. As the study progressed, they became less careful in supervising subjects working on the questionnaire. They accepted very unusual responses without question; income and expense items were particularly troublesome in this respect. Thus, thorough editing of questionnaires was necessary to ensure that they were complete and consistent. Other disadvantages in the use of indigenous interviewers appeared. The subject population itself was inclined to treat the indigenous interviewers with a lack of respect. When indigenous interviewers are carefully screened for intelligence, motivation and work attitude, then they may indeed produce more reliable and complete data. Unfortunately, we were not able to accomplish this under our field conditions.

The most available and cooperative subjects had been interviewed at the field headquarters. There remained a "hard core" of women difficult to contact or uncooperative. Coupled with the problem of transportation and co-ordination and the problem of interviewer management, this led to two basic changes in procedure. The field office and group interviewing were abandoned in favor of individual interviews in the home and white college students selected for their "presentation of self" and familiarity with the type of work were engaged to replace the indigenous interviewers.

The reorganized procedure involved a field operations supervisor and an interviewing team. The supervisor, accompanied by several interviewers, entered a study area with a list of potential respondents. By "scouting", the supervisor located a subject at home willing to participate. He then introduced an interviewer who proceeded with a face-to-face interview. The supervisor attempted to start other interviewers while the first interview was being completed. In this manner, the field operations supervisor could interpret the study to reluctant subjects and at the same time monitor his

interviewing staff. This method proved successful and with some modification was followed for the remainder of the interviewing. The time lag involved in making appointments and the concomitant breaking of appointments was avoided. Women could fill out the questionnaire in the comfort and security of their own homes without having to arrange for babysitting. Further, the length of time needed for the interview decreased from more than two hours to about one and one-half hours.

To coordinate interviewing, "call reports" were utilized. These were forms containing the subject's name, address, welfare case number and space for the interviewer to record the date, time and result of each attempted contact with the client. (An example follows this section of this appendix.) Each call report was marked with the subject's sector and quadrant. At the start of each day's interviewing, the field operations supervisor would select the sectors to be covered that day and the work effort was directed accordingly. At the end of each day, the progress of interviewing could be assessed by collating the reports. The activities of interviewers could be monitored. Comments by field interviewers provided a record of problems encountered and a basis for adapting procedures.

Some potential respondents were difficult to locate; others, while not refusing explicity, parried the interviewer. Call sheets indicated such problem cases. A woman who stated three times that she was "too busy today" and wouldn't make an appointment for a later date was classed as a refusal. Some interviewers were, of course, less sensitive to such subtle stalling than others. The field supervisor could change interviewers for problem cases. Sometimes one individual could establish rapport where another failed. Refusals thus became a source of friction in the operation but rarely a real barrier. As Dohrenwend and Dohrenwend (1968) note, refusals are due to the interviewing approach at least as much as the characteristics of the respondent.

A more subtle but no less costly problem was that of interviewing women with irregular hours. Many of the mothers worked part time, some full time. Thus, they would be absent from the home afternoons or evenings. Often neighbors could advise when it might be easiest to contact the sought respondent. Leaving a note for the respondents was almost never effective. An early or mid-evening visit was the most productive. At the end of the Wave I interviewing period, hours were shifted to early evening in order to accommodate this part of the sample.

A related problem in the training of interviewers, and the training of the recruiters at the early stages of interviewing, was to impress them with the need for perserverance in pursuing a contact. Knocking several times, checking behind the house or with neighbors or children on the street would reveal whether the respondent still lived at the address and, if not, sometimes a new address could be obtained. Here the resourceful and mature personality of an interviewer becomes an asset.

The management of the field was "programmed" from our research office in Philadelphia. Communication was maintained between administrators and field supervisors. The research administrative staff was responsible for

dispatching introductory letters a few days before contact, for checking wrong addresses or new addresses, general monitoring of field expenditures and the quality of questionnaires returned each day.

A segment of the sample was of Puerto Rican extraction and spoke only Spanish fluently. Approximately twenty-five interviews (in each wave) were conducted by a Spanish-speaking woman hired especially for this purpose. Although the quality of the interviews was not as high as that for our regular interviewers, it was preferable to translating English questions for our respondents. Whenever a question had to be interpreted to a respondent, our position was to communicate a standard meaning rather than hold to a standard set of words.

The termination date of first wave welfare interviewing was determined pragmatically. The cost of interviewing increases markedly as fewer cases remain and number of contacts required to arrange one interview increases. This was further complicated by the increasing geographical dispersion of last remaining interviewees. After 425 interviews in the first phase, it was decided that the advantage of adding a few cases per day was not economically justified. Only cases in special categories, such as a new WIN entrant case, were interviewed after the point. The final total of usable interviews of welfare mothers was 447. Later analysis (see sampling section of this appendix) demonstrated that the characteristics of those excluded from the sample by this decision did not on the average differ significantly from those included.

First Wave Interviews: Working Mothers

The required sample of working mothers with no husband present, not on welfare, was interviewed in early 1970. The interviewing was, to a large extent, centered in public housing projects which were generally adjacent to the homes of the welfare mothers. The procedures established at the end of the first wave welfare mother interviews were continued with this population. A field supervisor generally made the initial contact and introduced an interviewer to continue the questionnaire.

Resident lists of the public housing projects were a major source of names for this sample. The housing authority approved our study and released residents' names to us as control subjects. Similar clearance from project managers was obtained informally.

Interviewing of this control sample of working mothers was facilitated by several local industries which not only provided names of working mothers who qualified for the sample but also allowed us to interview their employees during the working day. Interviewing was terminated after 102 interviews had been completed; time and cost determined this limit.

Second Wave Interviews: Welfare and Working Mothers

Reinterviews of the welfare and working mothers proceeded simultaneously in the summer of 1970. The interviewing staff consisted of white

college students, both men and women. The procedure by which teams of interviewers led by a field supervisor arranged face-to-face interviews in the home was followed for the second wave interviews of both welfare and working mothers. Each team was assigned to a geographic area and strove to fulfill a daily quota. A field supervisor coordinated the teams and maintained communication with administrators in Philadelphia. He also programmed the operations in the field by constantly reviewing and recirculating "call sheets".

Completed questionnaires were returned to the research office in Philadelphia where they were edited and coded. As the interviewing neared completion, interviewers were transferred to coding. Coders thus engaged an excellent understanding of the questionnaire and of respondents' meanings.

A high rate of residential mobility made the task of relocation of the earlier panel of respondents difficult. Between the summers of 1969 and 1970,30 percent of the welfare mothers had moved. More specifically, 20 percent of the original panel had relocated within Camden city limits, 3 percent of the welfare mothers had moved outside the city limits and 1 percent had left the state. New addresses of the remaining 6 percent were unknown. We had prepared for this contingency by recording the names and addresses of two friends or relatives on the last sheet of the first wave interview schedules. Interviewers also sought to obtain new addresses from neighbors and, where known, from relatives. New addresses were also traced with the aid of the Camden County welfare officials. In spite of these efforts, some subjects could not be located. For instance, twenty had moved without informing the welfare office. A letter requesting the subject's current address was sent to friends and relatives indicated in the first questionnaire as people who would always know the subject's address. The subject's current address was obtained in this way in but one instance. In all, 373 of the original 447 welfare mothers were reinterviewed, and 85 of the 102 working mothers were reinterviewed.

The Problem of Interviewer Bias

A standardized interviewing and experimental context is thought to be a prerequisite for collecting reliable and valid data. Here the question might be raised with respect to the use of a combination of self-administered and interview-administered questionnaire techniques and to the use of purportedly very different types of interviewers in the two panels. Perhaps black interviewers collected different data than white. Perhaps data collected in the group-administered situation is different from data collected in the face-to-face situation. The questions are legitimate and necessary. Unfortunately, since the use of indigenous interviewers and of group administration coincided, it will not be possible to separate the effects of these two factors. Table A-6, however, shows the distribution of responses obtained by black welfare mothers interviewing at headquarters with those obtained by white college students interviewing in the home. Comparisons are made on typical items--a test result, demographic information, budget data and attitudinal items from several contact areas.

TABLE A-6

COMPARISON OF RESPONSES OBTAINED BY BLACK WELFARE MOTHERS (INTERVIEWING AT FIELD HEADQUARTERS) AND WHITE MALE COLLEGE STUDENTS AS INTERVIEWERS
(in percents)

ITEM	INTERVIEWER'S RACE WHITE	BLACK
Digit Symbol Test (I-05)		
0-28	17	13
29-46	45	37
47-61	25	37
62-65	6	8
66 or over	7	5
	(183)	(131)
$x^2 = 5.845$, d.f. = 4, p = n.s.		
Marital Status (I-62)		
Single	25	29
Married	13	11
Separated	50	53
Widowed or Divorced	12	7
	(184)	(133
$x^2 = 3.411$, d.f. = 4, p = n.s.		
Familes With Children Under 6 (I-63)		
Have child under 6	76	75
No child under 6	24	25
	(183)	(133)
$x^2 = .073$, d.f. = 1, p = n.s.		
Total Family Income/Month (II-29)		
To $320	51	62
$321-$440	31	24
$441 or over	18	14
	(180)	(128)
$x^2 = 3.416$, d.f. = 2, p = n.s.		
Intention to Work (II-70)		
Yes	54	65
No	46	35
	(184)	(133)
$x^2 = 3.745$, d.f. = 1, $p < .1$		

TABLE A-6
(Continued)

ITEM	INTERVIEWE 'S RACE WHITE	BLACK
Perceived Status/Welfare Mother (III-52)		
High	46	45
Medium	30	30
Low	24	25
	(184)	(133)
$x^2 = .010$, d.f. = 2, p = n.s.		
Ideal Number of Children (IV-28)		
One or more	34	38
Two	31	32
Three or more	35	30
	(184)	(133)
$x^2 = 1.037$, d.f. = 2, p = n.s.		
Feelings About Housework (IV-45)		
Dislike it	30	25
Like it somewhat	44	51
Like it	26	24
	(183)	(129)
Welfare Abuse Index (IV-71)		
Strict	39	29
Lenient toward abuse	46	45
Very lenient	15	26
	(182)	(131)
$x^2 = 6.490$, d.f. = 2, $p < .05$		

In the light of the discussions of interviewer bias in general and of biases attendant upon interviewing of poverty populations, the lack of statistically significant differences is striking. Perhaps welfare mothers are a bit more optimistic about their intention to work when speaking to another welfare mother, but this is not clear. It is clear, however, that the respondents are more lenient in their expression regarding abuses of the welfare system by its clients when they are speaking to a black interviewer. Then, bias appears, but only where the item is relevant to the different social position of interviewer and interviewee. This is a long way from the wholesale assertion of a need to match interviewer and interviewee racially.

WIN INTERVIEWERS' TRAINING MANUAL

Contents

1. Questionnaire
* 2. Administrative Memo
* 3. Call Sheet
* 4. Guidelines for Questionnaire Administration
5. Precoding Memo and Computation Sheet
6. Center Card
7. Interviewer Badge
* 8. Important Phone Numbers and Location of Field Headquarters
9. Camden Xerox Map

* Items included here.

CENTER FOR RESEARCH ON THE ACTS OF MAN

UNIVERSITY INTRAMURAL CORRESPONDENCE

May 26, 1970

MEMO TO: Center Staff and WIN Files

FROM: Candace P. Cole

SUBJECT: Administrative Field Procedures

CALL SHEETS

When to fill out. Any time an interviewee is contacted, either by phone or in person, the call sheet should be brought up-to-date.

Information needed. The interviewer's number (not his initials) and the date and time that contact is made with the interviewee should be recored in the appropriate boxes. For "result", put the code number of the result obtained. The following is an explanation of the different code numbers appearing on the call sheet (see attached):

Code #	Meaning	Explanation
1	Interview Completed	The questionnaire has been administered although not edited. Be certain to enter the code number of the interviewer completing the interview in the upper right hand corner of the call sheet and transfer the questionnaire number onto the questionnaire.
2	Appointment made for _____	Be certain this appointment is for a feasible time. Interviewing takes place 9:30 a.m. to 4:30 p.m. Monday through Thursday, and 9:30 to 1:30 on Friday. Before scheduling an appointment at any other time, you should consult Mr. Schwartz, advising the interviewee that we will call her back to arrange a definite time. Be sure to put both the time (include a.m./p.m.) and the date, not just the day of the week.

Code #	Meaning	Explanation
3	Not at Home	If the woman is not at home, speak to the neighbors or nearby children to find out if she still lives at that address and when she is normally home (see code 5).
4	Refused	It is very unusual to encounter a refusal. Any that are recorded will need a good explanation. If a woman does seem resistant or antagonistic, ask if another member of the Center staff can contact her at a later date to talk things over with her and leave a "should you have any questions" card.
5	Away during day	Some women may regularly be away from home during the day at a job. Find out where they are during the day. If possible, see when they come home. This result may follow from a code 3.
6	Not eligible	The only valid reason for ineligibility is death of the interviewee.
7	Incorrect address	Find the new address from neighbors or persons indicated on last summer's file sheet (see Mrs. Cole for this information). (see code 9)
8	Moved--Address Unknown	Record any clues that may be helpful in obtaining an address, such as where the interviewee was last working, if she was working when she moved, what city she moved to, or where a friend lives that might know her present location.
9	Moved--New Address given above	Be sure to give the address (include city) in the space provided at the top of the call sheet. This may follow from code 7.

Special remarks for call sheet coding. Add any notes relating to the interview or interviewee, including hints on how to approach the woman, notes about her family, her health, etc.

Disposition. All call sheets should be returned to Mr. Schwartz' box every morning so that the daily field report may be written. Call sheets for incompleted interviews will be redistributed each morning before interviewing is begun.

PETTY CASH

How to use. Petty cash is reimbursement for the following expenses:
Telephone calls to interviewees
Public transportation to and from the field
Bridge tolls
Car mileage
Food

Note: (1) The only food you will be reimbursed for will be that of a second meal taken in the field when the interviewer has interviewed more than eight hours in one day. (2) Mileage is reimbursed at the rate of 10¢/mile. Mileage reimbursement requests should be turned in on Friday afternoons and must be accompanied by daily odometer readings taken throughout the week at the beginning and end of every interviewing day. (3) Calls to the Center from Camden should be made collect.

Reimbursement Procedure. When you are entitled to reimbursement, list your expenses on a small sheet of paper along with your name and the date and attach any receipts you have. You must have receipts for bridge tolls and food. Your itemized list of expenses should be turned over directly to Mr. Cole, who will pay you and have you sign a receipt, to which she will attach your expense list. Normally, petty cash reimbursement will precede the Friday staff meeting. Exceptions to this rule will be made upon request. Note: Where any of the required information or receipts are missing or where reimbursement is requested for unlisted items, authorization for reimbursement must be obtained from Mr. Schwartz before presenting Mrs. Cole with a request for payment.

PREMIUM MONEY

How to use. Premium money is for paying interviewees only. It may not be used for petty cash purposes. Premium money for each interview will be placed in a sealed envelope and attached, with a coded receipt, to a questionnaire. When a questionnaire is given to an interviewee, the envelope should be removed but should remain sealed until the interviewee has completed the questionnaire, at which time she receives the envelope and is asked to sign the receipt. Interviewers will sign a receipt for the total amount of premium money checked out to them, and consequently, they will be held responsible for ultimately returning those questionnaires and premiums or for the matching signed receipts signed out to them.

Information needed. The date (month, day and year) the interview was completed and the signature of the interviewee ("received by").

should appear on the receipt in addition to your initials and interviewer number ("approved by"). The questionnaire number (Q----) appearing on the call sheet must be transferred to the receipts as well as to the questionnaire (see below). Completed receipts should be placed in Mrs. Cole's box the morning after the interview has been completed.

QUESTIONNAIRES

Disposition - Precoded. Questionnaires should be returned to Mr. Schwartz's box when they are precoded. Note: Questionnaires will not be considered complete unless the questionnaire number from the call sheet has been transferred to the appropriate boxes on the first and last pages of the questionnaire. The interviewer's I.D. number (not his initials) should appear both on page 27 and page 28.

Disposition - Unused. Unused questionnaires remain with the interviewer to whom they were checked out until they are used. Mrs. Cole will issue you additional questionnaires as needed. These will be available shortly before 8:45 a.m. every morning (at the Center).

CENTER FOR RESEARCH ON THE ACTS OF MAN

UNIVERSITY INTRAMURAL CORRESPONDENCE

May 26, 1970

MEMO TO: WIN Interviewing Staff

FROM: David P. Varady

SUBJECT: Guidelines for Questionnaire Administration

1. Interviewers are responsible for the "sense" of the responses to the questionnaires they administer. After the respondent has completed the questionnaire it should be read in detail for sense. An example of the type of error you should look for is a response of six children under six years of age. Interviewers should be particularly careful with the income and expense items. Make sure a time period (per week, per month) is circled where indicated. If an important category has a zero indicated (e.g. food) you should find out whether this was really the intended response.

2. It is important that every item on the questionnaire be completed. It would be very helpful to indicate to the respondent first that, unless indicated otherwise, all precoded questions are to be answered by circling one response only. Where there is more than one item in a scale, make sure that there is a response to each item and that not more than one response category is circled.

3. Where there are open-ended questions, the answers given should be as specific as possible. Most often, this will occur when the respondent is asked to mention a job (ideal job, type of work experience, type of job trained for). It is not acceptable to have general or vague job titles since they cannot be coded; the respondent should be asked to specify the job title in more detail (e.g. "practical nurse" rather than "nurse," work on assembly line making electronic components rather than factory work).

4. The interviewer is responsible for precoding the questionnaire before it is edited by me. This means that all the blank boxes next to income and expenditure questions should be filled and checked. The accompanying sheets from the code book to be used will indicate what is to be placed in each box, but the following comments will be helpful. Each amount which is reported for a specific income or expense category should be expressed in terms of the nearest round number. Expense items should be converted into monthly totals if expressed on a per week or a per two week basis. In placing the resulting number into the box, account should be taken of the number of IBM columns assigned. For example, if $90 is paid each month in rent it should be expressed as 090 since three IBM columns are assigned to this item.

5. Make sure that you put the interviewer I.D. on the last page of the questionnaire so that you can be credited with completing that questionnaire.

CODE NUMBER OF INTERVIEWER COMPLETING THE INTERVIEW: _____

QUESTIONNAIRE NUMBER: _____

FULL NAME: _____

ADDRESS: _____ SECTOR & QUADRANT: _____

CORRECTED ADDRESS: _____ SECTOR & QUADRANT: _____

CORRECTED ADDRESS: _____ SECTOR & QUADRANT: _____

TELEPHONE NUMBER: _____

NEW TELEPHONE NUMBER: _____

CALL REPORT AND SCREENING FORM

INTERVIEWER #:

	1:	2:	3:	4:	5:	6:
DATE						
TIME						
RESULT						

CODE:

1. Interview Completed
2. Appointment made for _____

   for _____

3. NAH
4. Refused (EXPLAIN) _____

   DECISION: _____

5. Away during day (where located?) _____
6. Not Eligible (EXPLAIN) _____
7. Incorrect Address (Enter New One Above When Known)
8. Moved, Address Unknown
9. Moved, New Address Given Above

SPECIAL REMARKS: _____

_____

Center for Research on the Acts of Man
3812 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa. 19104

CENTER FOR RESEARCH ON THE ACTS OF MAN

UNIVERSITY INTRAMURAL CORRESPONDENCE

May 26, 1970

MEMO TO: Center Staff

FROM: Candace P. Cole

SUBJECT: Important telephone numbers and addresses for the Camden field

1. Camden Police: Telephone (609) 365-2323
2. Yellow Cab: Telephone (609) 963-4100
3. Center for Research: (215) 594-6241 call collect from Camden.
4. Public Transportation Service (local bus): Telephone (609) 365-7000
5. Patco High Speed Line: Telephone (609) 963-8300
   "City Hall" stop: 5th and Cooper
   "Broadway" stop: Broadway near Federal
   "Ferry Avenue" stop: Ferry off old White Horse Pike
6. Field headquarters for section 10E and 11E will be the lobby of the Hotel Walt Whitman at Broadway and Cooper Streets.

Calendar

JUNE	M	T	W	TH	F	S	SUN
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
	22	23	24	25	26	27	28
	29	30					
JULY							
			1	2	3	4	5
	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
	13	14	15	16	17	18	19

Reliability of Questionnaire Responses

Social research, whether conducted in the laboratory or in the field, is especially liable to response error due to the subject's reaction to the study setting or to the activities of the investigator. This "indeterminancy" in data collection makes it important to determine the extent to which any study by a social scientist is replicable, whether the data gathered are likely to be found to be essentially the same by subsequent investigators. Here the concern is with the question of whether or not interviewees were reliable self-reporters. That is, to what extent could change in responses between the first interviews in the summer of 1969 and the second interviews during the summer of 1970 be attributed to real changes in the lives of the respondents and to what extent did it merely reflect errors in the responses themselves.

An indicator of stability, of "test-retest" reliability, is needed to give some empirical measure of replicability of our findings (see Bohrnstedt, 1970). One way to check this is to compare responses on items expected to change little between interviews. For example, one would hypothesize that marital status, number of children and age of children, for instance, would change very little. Thus, variations in these data over short periods of time would suggest that the interviewee is reacting inconsistently--perhaps to the different personalities of interviewers rather than unchanging questions. The use of non-standardized measures, those whose empirical replicability has not been established, makes the problem of response reliability particularly insistent in this study. A number of measures were selected with reference to the special set of problems and the special populations in the study. The Wechsler Digit Symbol Test was taken out of its context in the adult intelligence battery and administered in a regular survey atmosphere. Several drawings to which subjects were asked to fit a story in TAT style were specially prepared.

Reliability may be examined in two ways. The first is comparison of responses to first and second wave questionnaires to construct panel "turnover" tables. Three types of questions will be examined with respect to panel stability: certain relatively "objective" questions, attitudinal items, and projective items. The second test of reliability is through scaling procedures. The coefficient of reproducibility obtained in Guttman scaling procedures reflects the reliability of the scale. Reliability in this sense refers to inter-item consistency rather than test-retest stability. Data on scale reproducibilities is presented in the appendix on the history of our questionnaire and summarized in Table A-7.

TABLE A-7

GUTTMAN SCALE ITEMS

NUMBER	NAME	Coefficient of Reproducibility
0317	Worth of planning ahead	.90
0318	Success striving	.90
0319	Money important to social relations	.93
0320	Discrimination in hiring	.91
0321	Type of work for women	.87
0344	Attitudes day care centers	.93
0412	Attitudes job training programs	.88

The Measure of Response Stability

In the interest of reducing the length of the interview, questions dealing with historical-biographical material were not repeated on the second wave. Obviously, there could be no objective change in "place of birth" but a second recording of the information would have provided useful data on reliability.

In a panel "turnover" table, responses to the same question by the same individuals on two instances are cross-classified. In a perfectly stable situation, respondents would reply in the same way on each instance and, thus, all responses would fall along the main diagonal. All cells in the non-diagonal cells reflect changes in a respondent's reply from one year to the next. The number in the main diagonal expressed as a percentage of all those who completed both questionnaires is here termed the "reliability coefficient." The following table exemplifies this type of analysis.

TABLE A-8

TURNOVER TABLE FOR MARITAL STATUS 1969-1970

MARITAL STATUS 1969	MARITAL STATUS 1970				
	Single	Married	Separated	Widowed-Divorced	Not Reinterviewed in 1970
Single	100	1	3	3	17
Married	0	44	7	0	10
Separated	2	8	160	13	37
Widowed-Divorced	1	2	3	26	10
				(373)	(74)

Of the original 447 respondents, responses to this item were not available in the second year for 74 of them. Of the remaining 373 respondents who answered the marital status question in both waves, 330 reported no change in marital status. They are recorded along the main diagonal. The coefficient of reliability is therefore 330/373 or 89 percent.

For analytic purposes, all responses falling outside the diagonal are viewed as "error". In this case, "error", or response instability, may also involve actual change. Mathematical methods are available for distinguishing change from response instability, but at least three waves are required. However, common sense inspection of the individual cells indicates that of those reporting themselves single the first year, the one in the second year who said that she was married had probably been married during the year. However, the six women who were single in 1969 but separated, widowed or divorced in 1970 should probably have been classified initially in these latter categories. Nevertheless, the fact that 100 of 107 women reporting marital status as single in 1969 reported the same status a year later reflects a good measure of stability. Of seven changes, six are likely to be "error" in response. "Prestige bias" may be a source of error in this particular question.

Six objective items have been analyzed for response stability. Each of these could conceivably have reflected real change. Table A-9 presents the reliability coefficients for these six illustrative items.

TABLE A-9

RELIABILITY COEFFICIENTS FOR RESPONSES OF WELFARE MOTHERS TO OBJECTIVE ITEMS BASED ON RESPONSE CHANGES BETWEEN WAVES I AND II

VARIABLE NAME	VARIABLE NUMBER*	RELIABILITY COEFFICIENT (in percents)
Number of children	01651	95
Marital status	01621	89
Have life insurance	02661	78
Family patterns	01631	87
Individuals requiring care	04051	95
Children on welfare	04241	94

*These five-digit numbers identify the item in the first wave questionnaire appended to this report. The first two digits indicate the card number, the second two indicate the column number and the final digit indicates the mapping version on which the reliability test was made. Item identification numbers are identical for the second wave excepting that the card number is increased by four.

The lowest coefficient of 78 percent occurs in response to a question on whether the respondent has life insurance. Doubtless some part of the population discontinued its policies and some part took out new policies in the course of a year. Allowing for such real changes, the stability of these items seems quite acceptable.

Reliability of Subjective Items

The reliability coefficient for subjective items, computed by our methods, would be expected to be lower than that for objective items. Real change is more likely to occur within subjective items (one's attitudes are more likely to change than is marital status or number of children) and self-reporting of subjective states may be a less accurate reflection of attitudes than indirect measures. Attitudes which reflect basic orientations of the self would be less inclined to change than would attitudes toward social situations. Table A-10 presents reliability coefficients for these two types of attitudes.

TABLE A-10

RELIABILITY COEFFICIENTS FOR SELF ATTITUDES AND SOCIAL ATTITUDES

VARIABLE NAME	VARIABLE NUMBER	RELIABILITY COEFFICIENT PERCENTAGE
SELF ATTITUDES		
Work intention	02701	69
Desire not to work	03291	81
Worth of work	03431	73
Number children expected	04291	72
Ideal education for children	04441	78
Preferred child care	04511	76
SOCIAL ATTITUDES		
Friends admire education	02741	70
Reward for success striving	03421	55
Others opinion welfare	03501	65
Worth job training	04411	45
Worth day care centers	04111	48

Response consistency is less on social than on self attitudes. The former are probably given to a good deal of actual change. Given the relative stability of the objective items above and the self attitudes, confidence in the stability of the social attitude measures is strengthened.

Reliability of Scoring of Projective Items

Assessment of interviewee reliability on the projective items is complicated by an additional problem of coder reliability on the items. A standard check for coder reliability would have employed several independent judges whose scores would have been used to compute a correlation coefficient or other measure of agreement. The duration of our study and the turnover in personnel made this procedure difficult. Initially a psychoanalytically trained individual, knowledgeable in projective techniques, supervised two graduate students in scoring the projective items for the first wave interviews of welfare mothers. More effort was exerted to create actual inter-rater reliability during the coding than merely to have a measure after the fact. Every tenth questionnaire was exchanged between the coders and every twentieth was rescored by the supervisor. Discrepancies were discussed and agreement reached. In this way, coding norms evolved. In addition, a sample of forty-eight (10 percent) of all first wave welfare mother questionnaires was drawn, sixteen for each of the three judges. In addition,

to assess comparability of the coders on the two panels, sixteen questionnaires drawn at random from the approximately 400 first wave remaining were scored by the same individual who scored all the second wave welfare and working mother questionnaires. The distribution of scores between judges was compared on items requiring a subjective evaluation. (For example, the judgments as to whether a figure drawing had eyes or not did not create a serious coding reliability problem.) Of a total of forty-six projective scores, thirty-four were compared; intercoder reliability was measured for the more ambiguous categories.

The chief result of this analysis was the discovery that the group scoring first wave questionnaires and the individual scoring second wave questionnaires strongly disagreed on many scores. Of the thirty-four items examined, coders of the two waves agreed strongly on only five items (Cards I and V, Columns 8, 9, 22, 39, 50). The original coders were in much closer agreement with each other; they were strongly agreed on fourteen of the thirty-four items (Card I, Columns 10, 11, 12, 23, 28, 36, 37, 40, 41, 42, 43, 45, 47, 51). Their distributions were essentially similar on an additional eight items (Columns 27, 29, 30, 31, 34, 38, 44, 46). Thus, the three initial judges substantially agreed on twenty-two items, or about sixty-five percent of the total. The coder of the second wave interviews frequently showed grossly different judgments (e.g., never assigning a score which was given with high frequency by the other three scorers on a particular item).

Certain aspects of the scoring categories may explain the discrepancies between the scores of the original coders and the second wave coder. Many of the scoring categories were highly ambiguous (e.g., deciding whether the "effort" indicated in a story was "useful" or not (Card I, Columns 22, 30, 38, 46). The ambiguity could be markedly reduced by consultation among the group of scorers and agreement on how the items were to be interpreted. Thus, the three judges who originally coded the projective items could consult with one another, but the fourth coder employed at a later date could not consult with the original coders.

In order to test the possibility of developing reliability for the second wave, a random sample of thirty questionnaires from the second wave welfare sample was drawn. These were scored by the coder of all the second wave items and by a graduate student in clinical psychology who had not previously scored any of these particular items. The second wave coder explained briefly how he had interpreted some of the more ambiguous items. The items chosen for analysis required eight separate judgments each of which called for assignment of a score. Thus, there were a total of 240 (8 x 30) judgments on which the two judges might have disagreed. The two judges agreed exactly on 197 (82 percent) of these 240 judgments.

The low coefficients may be due as much to lack of intercoder reliability between the waves as to the lack of stability of the responses themselves.

TABLE A-11

RELIABILITY OF SCORING OF PROJECTIVE RESPONSES WAVES I AND II WELFARE MOTHERS

VARIABLE NAME	RELIABILITY COEFFICIENT (percentages)
Helplessness (I-40)	52
Effort (I-38)	51
Time span (I-39)	49
Verbal intelligence (I-43)	48
Other's role (I-41)	45
Affect interaction (I-45)	42
Expected outcome (I-42)	42
Actor affect (I-44)	41

Summary

No general conclusions about the reliability of the data can be drawn. The stability of the objective data may be considered satisfactory. While it does not necessarily follow that responses are therefore "truthful", the level of reliability provides some confidence in response honesty. The sophisticated deceit required to remember from one year to another what had been said so as to "appear" honest is highly improbable. We may be relatively certain that, in these cases, respondents were reacting to a standardized stimulus--the questionnaire--rather than to varying interviewer personalities.

The reliability of subjective questions must remain tentative. We may have reasonably good confidence in items reflecting self attitudes but the reliability of social attitude measures must remain an open question.

Finally, in the case of the projective items, the issue of coder reliability overshadows the issue of response reliability. Attention was given to ambiguous coding categories--where editorial decisions were central--and the results pointed to problems in using panel data from projective items. Because of higher intercoder consistency, we may have more confidence in analyses using Wave I projective scores than in those depending on a relation between Wave I and Wave II scores.

Problems in Cross-Cultural Communication in Administering the Questionnaire

Introduction

In the course of the Camden second wave interviewing in the summer of 1970, a social anthropologist, Ilsa Schuster was engaged to examine culturally-rooted biases which might enter our data gathering and influence our data interpretation. She was concerned with matriarchal family structure and the dynamics of the face-to-face interview. After conducting several in-depth interviews, in which she went beyond the prescribed schedule, she recommended adjustments in our interview practices. The following, based on the anthropologist's report, reviews some of what we learned from interviewing a low income population.

Misinterpretation and Misunderstanding

The survey researcher has a variety of interviewing techniques. The present study chose to utilize the self-administered questionnaire and structured interview. The choice of structured interviewing as a data-gathering method is discussed in other parts of this report; we focus here on the options which lie within the constraints of the interview situation.

Possibilities of misinterpretation and misunderstanding are related directly to the very writing and structuring of a questionnaire. Closed categories supplant open-ended questions as the research moves into its later states. Initially, the researcher probes the behavior and orientations of the subject population in an open-ended way. He is not sure which questions will yield relevant and accurate information. The open-minded interview is used "to disclose topics, viewpoints and inter-connections that might escape notice under a more mechanical type of interrogation" (Paul, 1953, p. 445).

Having specified topics and refined questions in the pilot study, the researcher may choose to "close off" his questions. Using the empirical distribution of responses to open-ended questions, he may construct a set of closed choices which include all significant or, at least, most frequent responses. A principal advantage is that this allows immediate categorization and quantification for studies which apply quantitative analysis. Such studies would otherwise have to face the questions of categorization of data at the coding stage.

One rationale for having a written questionnaire or a fixed set of questions is the standardization of meanings, stimulus, and presumably then of the responses. By representing each interviewee with the same written question and responses, the analyst may avoid the problem of variations in wording and intonation by the interviewers, both of which have been found related to bias (Gordon, 1969); Maccoby and Maccoby, 1954). However, standardization of meaning is not achieved solely by standardization of wording.

The researcher must be sure that several underlying assumptions have been met. First, the population is assumed to be culturally homogeneous, that is, to share basic symbolism and cultural heritage. Secondly, the population is assumed to be linguistically homogeneous so that similar interpretations are given to the same words.*

The above assumptions about cultural and linguistic homogeneity are open to question with respect to the Camden welfare mothers. Economic data was particularly sensitive to distortion by misinterpretation. For example, expenditures listed under the food category sometimes included items used for laundry, grooming, small household furnishings and patent medicines since these items were purchased at the supermarket with food. This tended to inflate food expenditures. On the other hand, incidental expenditures on food, from a fruit truck or from the corner store, tended to be neglected. Thus, it became necessary for the interviewer to depart from the closed questionnaire format and deal precisely with each income and expense item. Each category had to be discussed and additional stimulus words given, such as "did

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*The following example of age data gathered in censuses in Singapore illustrates confusion arising from cultural and social differences.

> The study of percentage distribution of the population in Singapore for the ages 0 to 4 and 5 to 9 years as obtained in seven censuses gav the results shown in Table 29. A comparison of the percentages in this table shows that the group 5 to 9 years is consistently larger than the group 0 to 4 years, which is contrary to expectation. After having eliminated all other possible explanations for this unexpected phenomenon, You Poh Seng found that it was due to the influence of Chinese cultural background. In fact, the Singapore population contains around 80 percent Chinese who reckon ages in a different way from that adopted in Western civilization. Censuses were always prepared in accordance with the Western way of thinking and age questions were put in the form of "What is your age?" "Age at the last birthday," or "Age according to Western reckoning." The Chinese population apply a different calculation. "According to the traditional method of counting, a Chinese is one year old at birth, and thereafter becomes a year older at every Chinese New Year. Since the Chinese New Year is based on a form of lunar calendar, New Year's Day varies from year to year, but normally it falls round about February. An extreme case would be the following: a child is born, say, a week before the Chinese New Year. It is one year old at birth, and one week later, on the occasion of the New Year, it becomes two years old, whereas strictly speaking it is only one week old". According to Chinese tradition there can be no child under one year. Consequently, the resulting biases in age data cannot be eliminated without adapting census concepts to this tradition or taking some special steps for converting data based on Chinese reckoning into data based on the Western way of counting years. (Zarkovich, 1966, pp. 185-186.)

you buy from the fruit truck" or "corner store". An interviewer's familiarity with the neighborhood was useful in detecting expenses which might have otherwise gone undetected. For example, during the survey period an Avon Cosmetic Company representative was working in the area. Asking interviewees in that area if they had made purchases from this agent could add several dollars to expenditures in the "grooming expense" category. In general, the role of neighborhood salesmen and incidental purchases is neglected in the questionnaire. Such incidental expenditures coupled with purchases made upon special occasions, holidays or celebrations, may be an important indicator of life style. When the absolute amount of capital per household is small, seemingly slight differences among expense categories are potentially important for analysis (Lewis, 1968).

A further problem in assessing the economic data derived from neglect of exchanges of goods and services. Such exchanges, particularly in the form of clothing and food, are prevalent among Puerto Rican families. A son or daughter might being several bags of fruit to the household or new shoes for children or usable "used" clothing. While not recorded as cash income or expenditures, these exchanges may be crucial to the life of the family as a unit.

Several attitudinal measures were particularly subject to variant interviewee interpretation. A question measuring attitudes toward the availability of welfare (IV and VIII-58 through 63) illustrates this problem. Interviewees were presented with a set of six reasons for unemployment and were asked to judge whether welfare should or should not be available to the unemployed person in each case. Most subjects found that the standardized situation was insufficiently described for them to make a judgment. Subjects would ask, "How many children are there?" "How old are they?" "How old is the mother?" Some interviewees refused to decide on the case, "If there is one parent (female) and she does not want to work for any reason" unless provided with a story about the preson. Of the interviewees who, after much deliberation, decided that welfare should be made available to all or most of the cases, the majority expressed either verbally to the interviewer or in the margins of the questionnaire that they were permitting welfare only on condition that the women had several young children. Regardless or the woman's personal qualities, they felt that denying welfare payments would doom her young children to starvation. Such reinterpretations and qualifications suggest that the stimuli may not have been standardized in meaning but that various meanings may have been read into the situations described in the question.

A further problem pertaining to the standarization of meaning derives from the neglect of the contextual dimension in attitude testing (Ennis, 1962). Several general attitudinal questions were asked about job training programs and child care facilities. While the question on day care centers (VIII-11) was understandable, the responses often meant different things. For instance, an assent to the statement that, "The teachers in day care centers are very interested in the children they take care of" could have two meanings. Either the mother had positive experience, or she was unaware of the quality of day care centers and the response was a guess or an opinion she heard expressed by others. Both informed and uninformed attitudes are being measured. This question was further clouded by the fact that two types

of day care facility exist in Camden. There are day care centers and day care mothers. Responses could be to both or either of these types. A woman having had personal experience with day care mothers said, "My baby never had diaper rash until I sent her there. That woman takes care of so many children she can't keep track of them all". Women whose personal experience was with centers complained that they had poor facilities and were overcrowded. Some know of more adequate centers but said a poor mother could not afford these more expensive facilities. Thus these women considered the low cost of certain centers to be misleading. Others pointed out that even a low cost center did not enable a woman with several children requiring day care to go to work. Even with low cost-high quality day care centers available, some women still would choose to continue on welfare rather than take a job since even the best day care centers cannot care for children who became ill. Interviewees with school-age children who disliked welfare felt that in the absence of a strong and supervised program of afterschool activities, they were not free to accept employment. The survey did not tap these serious problems.

The questionnaire was designed to elicit information on social networks by asking how often women saw their friends and relatives, how many of these were welfare recipients or employed full time and how many friends were neighbors. Assumptions of similar linguistic meaning attached to the term "friend" were particularly problematic. Interviewees assumed that "friendship" referred to adult females. In fact, the role of adult males was not assessed by this survey. The linguistic term "friend" was, however, used in a number of different ways. Thus, some women who spent an hour or more a day in the company of their neighbors did not consider these neighbors as friends. Others considered only their close relatives to be "true friends". Still others claimed they were "close" to women of their church, but would not describe them as "friends". A few said they had not seen their friends in many years--friends, to them, evidently evoked images of childhood--but would not circle the choice, "I have no regular friends", explaining, "You'd have to be pretty hard up to circle that." The item, "There are times when I have been embarrassed in fromt of my family because of being on welfare" produced a counter-question: "What kind of friends would they be?" Finally, direct observation of a friendship clique (which also functioned as a cooperative buying unit) operating in one of the low income housing projects in which several women were personally interviewed contradicted answers to questions of friendships provided by some members of the clique, one of whom stated, "I don't have friends. It's nobody's business anyway."

The concept of "relative" was also ambiguous. Data was sought on how often a woman saw her relatives, if they were on welfare or working full time, if they were available for child care, and if she preferred them for child care. It became apparent from personal conversations that some women did not include primary relatives (mother, sister, adult child) under the term which evoked, instead, responses to secondary or tertiary relatives: cousins, aunts, uncles, nephews, nieces, and so on. Because the questionnaire asked for a rate (frequency) per week or month of contacts rather than absolute number of contacts with relatives, objective evaluation of availability of adults in the social network to perform such functions as babysitting is difficult. A third difficulty was the absence of either a "don't know" category or a "half-and-half" (about half on welfare, half employed). Some women were, therefore, required to choose among

alternatives which they found difficult to relate to their particular situations.

One root of these problems is the tendency to assume that "lower" and "middle" income groups generally share the basic values and aspirations of the American middle class (Riessman, 1959), and that for studies of "general" values the lower and middle classes may be treated as a homogeneous population. However, when research departs from the study of "general" values and aspirations and investigates more subtle values and orientations, classes can no longer be treated as culturally homogeneous (Gans, 1962).

In addition to the problem of interviewee misunderstanding, there is the problem of interviewer and research misunderstanding, which also may be traced to cultural differences. A few comments on this problem are warranted. The researcher may succeed in obtaining reproducible responses from a population, i.e., reliable responses, and he may misinterpret the interviewee's intent. In response to the question, "Who was at the meeting of community and neighborhood citizens for better schools?" the respondent's use of familiar words might be misleading to the researcher. "In one culture the informant may say 'two people were there', having in mind not the great number of actual attendants but their leaders; in another culture the statement that 'everybody was at the meeting' may refer only to the select body of elders (everybody that matters) and not the total population". (Paul, 1953, p. 448)

In this study, the use of such familiar terms as "married", "single", "divorced" and "separated" might be "reliable" replies to questions on marital status, that is, subjects would not change their reply from one interview to another, but the meaning of such terms might elude the analyst. The difference between a "married" and a "separated" mother is often other than a legal difference. In fact, women of the same legal status might consistently declare different social statuses. The legally married woman interested in remarrying might be "separated" while the uninterested married but legally separated woman might remain "married". Similarly, the unmarried mother might declare herself "separated" or "divorced" to avoid the stigma of illegitimacy. Prestige bias, the reluctance to present facts likely to bring criticism or inspire critical thoughts, even if unexpressed, may lead to misunderstandings between interviewer and interviewee. Respondent's expectations about what the interviewer might think are as influential as verbalized expressions of his thinking.

Socially tabooed behaviors are susceptible to pretige error. "It is a common place for expenditure surveys to produce under-estimates of consumers' purchases of alcoholic drink and tobacco. From our own survey it would appear that Cambridgeshire household's expenditure on these two items is for alcoholic drink more than 50 percent, and for tobacco 30 percent below what we estimate to be the national average . . . We can be fairly sure that a good deal of the under-estimate results from people's unwillingness to reveal just how much they do spend on these two items". (Cole, 1956; Cole and Otting, 1956)

Misunderstanding and mininterpretation is a two-way street. Problems may arise with respect to both interviewer-researcher and interviewee understanding when working with low income populations. For this reason, qualitative methods must supplement quantitative methods to a higher degree.

Concealment and Deliberate Misrepresentations

Deliberate falsification and misrepresentation of information is a problem which occurs more as the result of the interviewer-interviewee relationship than as a result of the researcher's design or understanding of a population's culture. To a great degree, the issues of rapport and social distance are relevant here. While rapport is stressed in anthropological methods, the definition of rapport and the role of rapport have been debated. Beyond general agreement that one must 'get close' to the subjects to learn their intimate ways and gain their confidence, no evidence on the result of various degrees and types of 'getting close' has been conclusive. For example, Goldenweiser advised the anthropologist in the field to start"...living the life of the natives and participating in their culture. The more successful an anthropologist is in doing this, the better foundation he has laid for his future work...the ability to 'go native' on the surface is thus a great boon to the anthropological field student." (Paul, 1953, p. 438) On the other hand, Radin asserts" ...true participation is simply out of the question and romantic participation obscures the situation completely. For any ethnologist to imagine that anything can be gained by 'going native' is a delusion and a snare". (Paul, 1953, p. 438)

The role of the field worker differs from that of the interviewer, since the former obtains his information by direct observation and participation, while the latter obtains his information through a structured interview. The anthropologist may uncover more as he becomes closer to his population; the field worker may overcome respondents' conscious motivation to conceal by becoming accepted and non-threatening. However, an interviewer in a structured situation may simply introduce bias into his measurement (Williams, 1968; Weiss, 1968-9). He may be seen as an intruder from an enemy society and so increase respondents' incentive to conceal information. If rapport is viewed along a familiarity--anonymity dimension, anonymity may minimize concealment and misrepresentation of negatively sanctioned behavior (Hyman, 1954).

More significant, however, is concealment from inadvertance. The survey interviewer may not learn enough about the culture to know what the right questions are to ask. Some concealment of both types probably did occur in the present study. Despite the likelihood of income supplements from male friends, such admissions were extremely rare among the AFDC and working mothers. Interviewees were reluctant to disclose sources of extra-legal income which they feared might threaten their welfare status. "Extra-legality" is distinguished from illegality by the fact that extra-legal activity is not contrary to law but to the regulations of a particular social institution (Bohannon, 1958). Discovery of participation in extra-legal activities would jeopardize the women's welfare income, whereas discovery of illegal activity world, in terms of the larger society, subject her to threat of arrest. In two cases out of fifty personally interviewed by the anthropologist, repeated assurance of anonymity produced admissions of extra-legal income not reported by the interviewee to the welfare office. This income

was from employment as nurses' aides. Sources of illegal income (from numbers and prostitution, etc.) were never reported. Uncovering such information is possible only after prolonged contact between the researcher and his subjects--when mutual trust has been both tested and firmly established (Liebow, 1967; Hannerz, 1968). Basically, though, our feeling is that the role of both extra-legal and illegal income in the welfare population is much smaller than has been assumed.

Reluctance to produce actual figures for "recreation and grooming" expense categories was encountered because of fears of accusations that welfare mothers mismanaged their checks--were "having a good time at the taxpayer's expense". For example, when the interviewer expressed reassurance (e.g., everyone has to have some fun), higher figures sometimes resulted.

Conclusions

While the above analysis has dealt specifically with concrete problems which arise with respect to low income populations, the general problems of interviewer bias, misunderstanding of questions and concealment are universal to all survey analysis. These problems may be particularly acute in surveys of low income groups, due mainly to the cultural and linguistic differences between the researcher and subject communities. However, the claim that the survey technique is generally much less valid for low income than for middle and upper income populations is presently unsubstantiated. The basic problems, such as wording of questions, distorted interpretations and culturally induced biases, plague survey research with all of these populations. In fact, economic data reported by lower classes may be more accurate than that reported by the middle classes since there is less cash to lose track of and thus individual purchases hold greater significance. Further, basic attitudes may facilitate certain questions, on such things as extramarital affairs, for which middle class respondents may be more likely to falsify information. The middle class might be more likely to bias income information relevant to establishing tax rates for an area. "Under such circumstances, the respondents consider that it is against their interests to supply accurate information, and so often try to avoid doing so (Zarkovich, 1966, p. 189). The principles of bias are similar in each case.

The experiences upon which this analysis is based point to one major conclusion. The survey researcher's attempt to gain an extensive knowledge of a population, rather than the intensive understanding sought by the anthropological field worker, imposes upon this role the need for an especially intense effort to utilize and build upon the body of knowledge pertaining to the unique characteristics of the population studied. The field worker can ask questions many times over, rephrasing them in the light of reflection and new knowledge; the anthropologist can also probe the meanings of responses. In a sense, the survey worker tests the hypotheses developed by the participant-observer, the "insider", by obtaining controlled, repeatable measures of events. He may then extend the hypotheses to a wider population than that for which the field worker originally developed them. This continuity between the qualitative "case study" and the quantitative survey points to the complementary character of these methods.

Clearly the intensive analysis of small groups, typical of anthropological techniques, can reveal more accurate in-depth understanding of members of a "foreign" population. The anthropologist must, however, generalize

about the population-at-large on the basis of his intensive experience with a limited number of individuals whose typicality may not be firmly established. What survey techniques lose in intensity and perhaps, accuracy in particular instances they gain in knowledge of general social patterns. In retrospect--and in the best of all possible worlds--the two complementary techniques might have been most productively utilized in this study.

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APPENDIX B

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTIONS AND CODING MANUAL

Variables, as reported in the text of this report, were constructed on the basis of partitionings of the frequency distributions of responses. This section presents the items which appeared in each of the four research questionnaires along with the percentaged distributions of responses. Card and column numbers in which these data are entered are also shown. In many cases, the same questions were asked in Wave I and repeated in Wave II. Thus, as many as four frequency distributions accompany each item. The first vertical column to the right of the question is headed Welfare I. This column reports the responses of 438 welfare mothers interviewed in the summer of 1969. Their data were entered on Cards I through IV, as indicated above the items. The numbers with a slash to the left of the questions indicate the columns into which the information was punched on the respective cards. The second vertical column of figures headed Welfare II shows the distribution of responses for 373 of the welfare mothers reinterviewed in the summer of 1970. This data is entered on Cards V through IX with the column designations on Card I corresponding to those on Card V, those on Card II corresponding to those on Card VI, etc. The third column, headed Working I, and the fourth column, headed Working II, present, respectively, the results of interviews with 102 working mothers in March 1970 and reinterviews of 85 of them in the summer of 1970. Card and column designations for the working mothers parallel those in which welfare mother responses are punched. Where no data are presented, that question was not asked of that particular population in that particular wave. The number of cases on which the percentage distributions are based is always as stated above unless otherwise noted.

The logic of the coding is often obvious. Where it is not, an asterisk appears to the immediate right of the question. The coding instructions for these items follow the complete presentation of frequency distributions. Each variable, as presented here, is accompanied by the question or instructions to the interviewee as they appeared in the questionnaires.

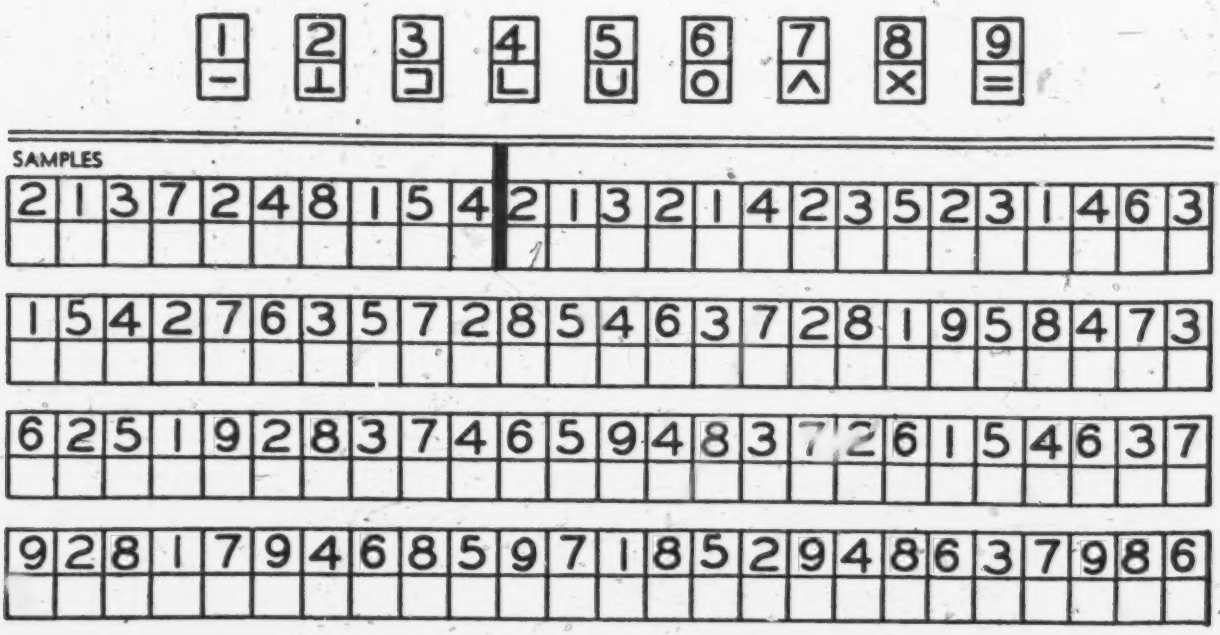
The material here presented, along with a duplicate set of cards used in the analysis, will enable a professionally trained social researcher to either reanalyze or extend the analysis of the data.

Frequency Distributions

Look at the boxes below which have a number and a mark just below it; for example, the number /1/ has a /-/ just below it. Every number has a different mark. Now look beneath that row of numbers and marks to where the word samples appears. There the upper box has a number but the box below it has no mark. You are to put in each of these boxes the mark that should go there. The interviewer will help you with these samples up until the tenth box (to the heavy line). Then, when the interviewer tells you to begin, you will start at the heavy line and fill in as many boxes as you can in all four rows, without skipping, until you are told to stop.

Card I (Card V), 5/6/, Symbol Intelligence*

	Response Distributions (in percents)		
	WELFARE I	WELFARE II	WORKING I
Out (00)	1	0	
Low (01-36)	31	25	
Medium (37-50)	35	35	
High (51-90)	33	40	
00-28			8
29-46			36
47-61			42
62+			14



Please draw a picture of a person on this page. Draw the person <u>any way you please</u>. Do not hesitate if you are not artistic. Just do your best.

Card I, 7/-21/, Draw-A-Person

	Response Distributions (in percents)	
	WELFARE I	WORKING I
7/ Drawn Normality*		
0 no drawing	1	2
1 normal	45	69
2 slight abnormal	43	25
3 severe abnormal	11	4
8/ Sex Drawn		
0 no drawing	1	4
1 female	65	64
2 male	26	31
3 unclear	8	1
9/ Age Drawn		
0 no drawing	1	5
1 child	20	13
2 adolescent	12	10
3 adult	57	69
4 ambiguous	10	3
10/ Body Drawn		
0 no body	1	2
1 head only	15	20
2 head + trunk, lack extremities	1	2
3 head + trunk + arms, no legs	1	5
4 complete figure	69	69
5 head + trunk + legs, no hands or feet	7	1
6 head + extremities, no body	1	0
7 lower half body hidden	1	0
8 head + trunk + legs, no arms	1	1
9 head + trunk + arms + legs, no feet	3	0
11/ Face Drawn		
0 no drawing	1	2
1 features visible	87	77
2 vaguely indicated	6	2
3 some missing	4	11
4 no features	2	7
5 perspective does not permit features	0	1

Card I, 7/-21/, Draw-A-Person

	Response Distributions (in percents)	
	WELFARE I	WORKING I
12/ Mouth Drawn		
0 no drawing	1	2
1 teeth visible	5	2
2 mouth open, teeth not visible	29	34
3 mouth closed	61	53
4 not visible (persp.)	0	0
5 no mouth	4	9
13/ Size of Body Drawn		
0 no drawing	1	2
1 2" or less	9	5
2 > 2"-3"	15	24
3 > 3"-4"	19	21
4 > 4"-5"	19	21
5 > 5"-6"	14	0
6 > 6"-7"	11	21
7 7" or over	12	6
14/ Arms and Hands		
0 no drawing	1	3
1 trunk not shown	14	21
2 trunk	3	3
3 full arms, no hands	15	28
4 arms, mitten hands	13	11
5 arms, hands with fingers	28	18
6 arms, claws	9	6
7 claws, no arms	0	0
8 stick arms, stick hands	8	5
9 arms, hands hidden in drawing	9	5
15/ Posture Drawn		
0 no drawing	1	2
1 rigid balanced	1	52
2 rigid unbalanced	1	17
3 posturing balanced	57	5
4 posturing unbalanced	21	1
5 in motion	2	7
6 full body not drawn	17	16
16/ Eyes Drawn		
0 no drawing	1	2
1 no eyes	3	12
2 circles, no pupils	13	14
3 eyes closed, slits, hollow sockets	16	10
4 pupils only, pinpoints	17	25
5 sockets with circles, points	50	37

Card I, 7/-21/, Draw-A-Person

	Response Distributions (in percents)	
	WELFARE I	WORKING I
17/ Placement Drawn		
0 no drawing	1	2
1 top left	58	7
2 top right	2	1
3 bottom left	7	1
4 bottom right	0	1
5 middle	5	28
6 top center	12	32
7 bottom center	2	8
8 center left	12	19
9 center right	1	1
18/19/ Age Stated		
no response (00)	15	20
young child (01-11)	15	12
adolescent (12-18)	13	14
young adult (19-30)	37	28
adult (31-99)	20	26
20/ Draw Sex Stated		
0 no response	1	7
1 male	30	30
2 female	69	63
21/ Identity Drawn		
0 no response	1	4
1 myself	1	1
2 child	18	11
3 adolescent	13	10
4 adult	66	72
5 identity uncertain	1	2

Tell a story about the person you have just drawn. Assume that this person is working. What is the person doing? Why? What has led up to this job? That is, what has happened in the past? What is the person thinking? What does the person feel? What will happen?

Card I, 22/-29/, Tell-A-Story

Card I, 22/-29/, Tell-A-Story

	Response Distributions (in percents)	
	WELFARE I	WORKING I
22/ Work Effort*		
0 no response	1	1
1 useful	39	82
2 ambiguous	39	0
3 not useful	3	3
4 no effort referred to	18	14
23/ Time Span*		
0 no response	2	1
1 up to incl. hour	6	21
2 > hour incl. day	19	12
3 > day incl. week	3	1
4 > week incl. month	5	0
5 > month incl. 6 mos.	11	0
6 > 6 mos. incl. year	14	1
7 > year incl. 4 years	11	2
8 > 4 years incl. decade	11	1
9 > decade incl. lifetime	18	61
24/ Helplessness*		
0 no response	2	2
1 mood of helplessness	32	10
2 no mood of helplessness	65	87
3-9 above range	1	1
25/26/ Work Symbol		
00 no response	2	3
03 ref. to clothing	0	0
05 ref. to symbolic movement	4	0
07 ref. to thought about working	63	31
11 ref. to tools, building, surroundings	5	11
18 ref. to 07 and 11 above	10	24
20 nothing symbolizing work	16	31
27/ Intelligence		
0 no response	2	2
1 incoherent story	5	0
2 simple factual description limited to present time and space	36	11
3 description supplemented by rationale, interpretation, not limited to immediate time or space	45	66
4 complex and coherent narrative bringing in a number of considerations	12	21

Card I, 22/-29/, Tell-A-Story

	Response Distributions (in percents)	
	WELFARE I	WORKING I
28/ Actor Affect		
0 no response	2	36
1 anger, hate	5	2
2 pressure from stress of situation	35	9
3 annoyance	2	3
4 sympathy, empathy, appreciation, positive	46	1
5 sense of being forced by harsh other	1	1
6 boredom	0	5
7 detachment	4	1
8 anxiety-fear of unknown	3	4
9 not codable via above	2	38
29/ Other's Role*		
0 no response	2	4
1 gatekeeper, deciding whether actor is to receive some advantage	30	2
2 teacher, instructing actor preparatory to another role	5	0
3 counselor, helping with problems of actor, telling him what he might do	4	1
4 disciplinary, punishing, exerting control	5	6
5 no reference to other	52	71
9 not codable via above	3	16

A series of pictures now follow. First look at each picture for about one half minute. After looking at each of the pictures try to think of a story about what is happening in the picture. Next write down this story on the lines under the picture.

In writing a story about the picture--you may use the following questions as a guide: What is happening? Who are the people? What has led up to this situation? That is, what has happened in the past? What is being thought? What is wanted? By whom? What will happen? What will be done?

There are no right or wrong answers to these questions. In writing the story, try to make your answers to these questions interesting and dramatic.

Card I, 30/-37/, Story Picture 1

	Response Distributions (in percents)
	WELFARE I
30/ Effort*	
0 no response	1
1 useful	22
2 ambiguous	48
3 not useful	3
4 no effort referred to	26
31/ Time Span	
0 no response	1
1 up to incl. hour	12
2 >hour incl. day	48
3 >day incl. week	3
4 >week incl. month	10
5 >month incl. 6 months	8
6 >6 mos. incl. year	9
7 >year incl. 4 years	3
8 >4 years incl. decade	3
9 >decade incl. lifetime	3
32/ Helplessness*	
0 no response	1
1 mood of helplessness	64
2 no mood of helplessness	35
33/ Other's Role	
0 no response	1
1 gatekeeper	41
2 teacher	11
3 counselor	27
4 disciplinarian	12
5 no reference to other	6
9 not codable via above	2
34/ Anticipation*	
0 no response	1
1 optimistic (get job)	23
2 in doubt--outcome uncertain	64
3 pessimistic--will not get job or help	11
9 not codable via above	1
35/ Intelligence*	
0 no response	1
1 incoherent story	6
2 low	41
3 medium	42
4 high	10